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612 [426] Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen but repayment after a reasonable interval is expected, and in almost all cases is met, even where it leads to the sale of sheep. It amounts to this, that a man will help his kinsman and indeed is morally obliged to do so, so long as this assistance does not conflict with the interests of his own family.

2. THE KINDRED

[611] The kindred of the Sarakatsani has three important formal characteristics. It is bilateral, the limits of its extension are precisely defined, and within these limits a man may not marry.

There is a sense in which almost all kinship systems may be described as bilateral, or to speak more accurately, filiation is normally bilateral and complementary.[4] But in describing the Sarakatsan kindred as bilateral it is my intention also to suggest a certain, though not exact, symmetry in the relations of a man to the family of origin[5] of his father on the one hand, and to the family of origin of his mother on the other; and to indicate further that, in principle, a man has equivalent confidence in, and similar rights over and obligations towards, more distant collateral kinsmen such as first or second cousins, whether the relationships with these persons are traced through the father or through the mother.[6] There is always a very strong moral obligation to assist any collateral kinsman. For instance, it often

[613] [4] Meyer Fortes, 'Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1953, vol. 55, p. 33.

[5] This is Lloyd Warner's familiar distinction between the family of orientation and the family of procreation. I prefer the terms 'origin' and 'marriage'; in the family of origin the individual is a child and a sibling, in the family of marriage a spouse and a parent.

[601] [6] The bilateral form of the kindred is plainly reflected in the terminology. The word σόϊ, kindred, applies, of course, to both maternal and paternal relations; and the words for kinsman συγγενής and relationship συγγένεια are both used in the same way. The terms which are used to describe kinship relationship outside the family do not differentiate between maternal and paternal kinsmen. Thus the term θεῖος, uncle, is used for both mother's brother and father's brother as well as for all male first cousins of both parents whether these are connected through male or female links. The same may be said about the other terms for παπποῦλης, grandfather, γιάγιω, grandmother, θεία, aunt, ξάδερφος, ξαδέρφη, male and female cousin, ἀνεψιός, ἀνεψιά, nephew and niece, and ἐγγόνι, ἐγγονή, grandchild, grand-daughter.

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612 have been defeated and plundered. The Greek Orthodox
594 marriage service is in two parts, the first being the rite of
585 Betrothal (ἀρραβῶνας), the second the rite of 'Crowning' (στεφάνωσις); and normally they are celebrated in church as one ceremony. The Sarakatsani, however, bring a priest to the huts of the bride's family to perform the religious betrothal ceremony which the shepherds name 'the half wedding' (ὁ μισὸς γάμος), and consider to be equal in importance to the office of 'Crowning'. The bride's kinsmen will not surrender her to the groom's retinue until this ceremony is performed, and equally the marriage ceremony cannot be completed until the bride is brought to the home of the bridegroom. In effect, each side celebrates half the marriage service.

594 This double attraction is eventually resolved by the new
612 family's relative emancipation from both the old families. Once the young family has parted from the husband's extended family of origin, it stands on its own without categorical rights over, or obligations towards, other related elementary families. It neither gives nor receives unconditional support of the kind that involves physical violence or economic assistance. In these important respects the family, even within the kindreds of its members, is, in a sense, isolated.

[601] This isolation of the elementary family is accurately reflected by the kinship terminology, although in this respect it does not differ from the general form of European kinship terminologies. It is significant that the terms for the kinship personalities in a man's elementary families of origin and marriage, that is in his inner circle of kinship, are not extended to more distant kinsmen as is the case in many societies with systems of unilineal descent. The family (οἰκογένεια) which may refer, according to context, to either or both elementary families in which the individual has or had corporate membership, and to any surviving grandparents, is part of the kindred, yet at the same time is clearly distinguished from it. In its widest connotation the 'family' is, of course, a class of relations and not a residential group. The principles which essentially relate members of the family are parental obligation and filiation, while the kindred is based on collateral extension. Between these two classes of kinsmen siblings are the bridge, since at the same time they are directly descended from the same parents and grandparents and

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585 her new surroundings. They can appreciate her feelings of
596 despair and loneliness; it is an ordeal which one day every Sarakatsan woman must face. But such sentiments can be
[604] afforded only a brief indulgence. From the Friday the bride undertakes the full routine of work allotted to her by her husband's mother.

The ceremonial induction into the family of the groom during and immediately after the wedding, the symbolic acts which she must perform, and the exchange of gifts with her close affines, all indicate the quality of her initial status within the extended family. The essential fact is that the new bride is subordinate to all other adults in the extended family. Even the five-year-olds try with varying success to boss the new 'bride'. As a worker her services belong to the whole group. She is, as they often say, 'our bride'. Not only does she care for the comfort of her own husband but she is responsible for washing, mending, and darning the clothes of all his unmarried brothers. In general, it can be said that any hard or unpleasant work will be delegated to her. A mule to be rounded up, water to be carried—the new bride is certain to be sent. 'She must learn our ways,' the other women explain, 'and must take root in her
[606] new family. Besides, she has no children to care for.' The bride takes most of her orders from her mother-in-law under whose critical and watchful direction she works. But she must be prepared to carry out requests from any brother, sister, or other more senior bride of the extended family. Yet despite her subordinate status she is accepted as a full member of the group. This is the implication of the exchange of gifts with members of the family; for in this community gifts are never exchanged with unrelated persons. 'She is one of us', they say. Membership carries with it the possibility of a growing comradeship, and the right to protection against insult and injury from outsiders.
585 Her behaviour is extremely modest. She speaks only if she is
596 addressed, and then her replies are made with the utmost show
576 of respect. She addresses her husband's brothers as ἀφέντη,
[601] 'master', and his sisters as κυρά, 'mistress'. She follows her husband in his modes of address to all senior relatives, father, mother, uncle, aunt, and so on. The family and kinsmen address the newcomer as simply νύφη, 'bride'. In the first months the bride will rise to her feet and remain standing when a man of the

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not also bring a wife into the group, the bride continues to work very hard carrying water, and gathering firewood for the family. But she will now receive, necessarily, more assistance from the other women in the family and often the demands of her child for the breast, as well as the other attentions it requires, will take priority over all other considerations.

At this time the husband's behaviour towards his wife undergoes fundamental changes. He now begins to talk with her more freely before other members of the family. She is not any longer merely the conjugal partner with whom he has sexual relations, which even in marriage possess a suspect if not exactly shameful quality. She is now the mother of his child; and in this role, especially if her infant is a son, the husband openly recognizes his wife without the ambivalence which previously attached to their relationship. For the child represents his own social individuation; it stresses his separation even from his siblings with whom his common interests have previously been almost undifferentiated. As a father he must now assert himself in the world, and even within his own extended family, if he is to carry out adequately his parental obligations.

After the birth of the first child the bride does not usually continue to address her husband's brothers and sisters as respectively, ἀρέντη, 'master', and κυρά, 'mistress'; instead she uses their christian names. And if, by this time, a younger brother of her husband has been married, the family no longer address her as νύφη, 'bride', but use the name of her husband with the suffix '-ina' added; thus Pericles, Periclina. With these changes it is openly recognized that a new elementary family group has emerged; and they reflect, too, the growing equality in the relationships of the wife with the members of her husband's family of origin who are of her own generation. It is also significant that no member of the extended family, except the parents-in-law, any longer orders her about in peremptory fashion in the presence of her husband, let alone attempts to scold or discipline her.

Parallel to the diminished control of the family over the bride, is the tacit understanding that the husband/father of the new elementary family is no longer able to fulfil critical obligations of his roles as son and brother in his family of origin; specifically, he is not expected to risk his life in any form of

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CHART

EXTENDED FAMILY LED BY THEODOROS FERENDINOS

N.B. There are also two sisters not shown in this chart. They were, in 1955, respectively 42 and 40 years of age; the elder sister was married three years before, the younger one year after, the marriage of Theodoros.

/165 cont./

596 554 [601] are extremely significant in this respect. Thus, the wife is expected to call the brothers and male cousins or her husband "lord," and his sisters and female cousins "mistress."

[601] [114] To claim that the existence of classificatory kinship (36) among the Sarakatsani can be concluded from this fact would be to distort

[113] 36. In the sense proposed by L. Morgan: Systems. See also A.L. Kroeber: Classificatory System /cited in English/, and D. Fordes: Double filiation.

[562] reality. These names symbolize, after all, only the inferior status of the wife.

596 601 As a matter of fact, there are no special terms to be used by a wife with regard to her parents-in-law or the uncles and aunts of the husband; one calls them all simply "father" and "mother," "uncle" and "aunt." These terms already imply respect, for everybody must venerate his father and mother, his uncle and aunt.

On the other hand, for the brothers and male cousins who are generally considered as equals and treated with familiarity, it was necessary to devise terms, to remind the wife that although she has become their sister or their female cousin through affinal ties, she nonetheless owes them respect since they are relatives of her husband.

Likewise, her obligation to respect other wives who have preceded her into the family is reflected in the fact that she must call them, too, "mistresses." The latter, in addressing her, call her "daughter-in-law."

596 561 554 Finally, as was the case with the men, the women also are required to respect those older than themselves, in accordance with the same principle of seniority.

The hierarchy of the women in the extended family /166/ thus operates in terms of age, place in the system of kinship, and the date of their entry into the family circle.

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